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FM AMCONSUL MUNICH
TO RUEHFO/USINFO WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//OAS//DPA//USDP//ISA/DSAA IMMEDIATE
INFO RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC//NSC, IMMEDIATE
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0095
RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC//DC-4A
RUEAIIA/CIA WASHDC
RUEATRS/TREASURY WASHDC
RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 1038
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 0439
RUFHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON 1689
RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3561
RUFHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1158
RUDOGHA/USNMR SHAPE BE//PAA
RUFHVI/AMEMBASSY VIENNA 2084
RUFHME/USMISSION USVIENNA 0010
RUFHNA/USMISSION USNATO 0598
RUFDAAA/CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//AEAPA/POLAD
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECPAO/POLAD
RHFQAAA/CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN GE//PA/POLAD
BT
UNCLAS MUNICH 00543

GENEVA FOR NST/ACDA, USVIENNA FOR MBFR, VIENNA FOR CSCE/PAA

E.O. 12356: N/A

SUBJECT: SENATOR NUNN'S WEHRKUNDE REMARKS

BELOW IS THE TEXT, AS DELIVERED, OF SENATOR SAM NUNN'S
REMARKS BEFORE THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE
ANNUAL WEHRKUNDE CONFERENCE, HELD ON SUNDAY, FEBRUARY
7, 1988, IN MUNICH, WEST GERMANY.

(BEGIN TEXT.) FROM ONE PERSPECTIVE, THE INF TREATY,
WHICH OF COURSE IS OUR FOCUS IN THE ALLIANCE TODAY,
REPRESENTS THE SUCCESSFUL CULMINATION OF A LONG AND
ARDUOUS JOURNEY. THE TREATY IS A TRIUMPH OF ALLIANCE
COHESION AND DETERMINATION IN WHICH THE NATO ALLIANCE
CAN JUSTIFIABLY TAKE PRIDE. IT IS A TRIBUTE TO THE
GOVERNMENTS PARTICULARLY IN THE BASING COUNTRIES,
WHICH DISPLAYED SUCH RESOLVE AND COURAGE IN
IMPLEMENTING THE DEPLOYMENTS IN FACE OF WIDESPREAD
DOMESTIC OPPOSITION AND CONSIDERABLE SOVIET
PROPAGANDA. THE TREATY ALSO REFLECTS THE CONTINUITY--
IN THE UNITED STATES BETWEEN TWO SUCCESSIVE
ADMINISTRATIONS -- ONE DEMOCRATIC AND ONE REPUBLICAN
-- WHICH, WITH BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN CONGRESS, STOOD
TOGETHER IN SUPPORT OF NATO'S "TWO-TRACK" POLICY.
FINALLY, SPECIAL CREDIT MUST BE GIVEN TO OUR ABLE
NEGOTIATORS, INCLUDING SOME HERE TODAY -- AMBASADORS

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NITZE, KAMPELMAN AND GLITMANN, AND OF COURSE I THINK THEY HAVE REPRESENTED OUR COUNTRY VERY WELL, AND THEY HAVE REPRESENTED OUR ALLIANCE VERY WELL.

WHILE THE TREATY CODIFIES IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENTS, WE MUST NOW VIEW THE AGREEMENT THROUGH A WIDER LENS. TO ASSESS THE FULL IMPLICATIONS OF THE INF TREATY FOR NATO SECURITY, WE MUST CONSIDER THE BROADER FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH IT WILL BE IMPLEMENTED, AND I BELIEVE THAT WHAT CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT SAID ABOUT SALT II IN HIS IISS SPEECH ABOUT TEN YEARS AGO APPLIES EVEN MORE SO TODAY REGARDING INF: "THE MORE WE STABILIZE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR PARITY BETWEEN EAST AND WEST . . . THE GREATER WILL BE THE NECESSITY TO ACHIEVE A CONVENTIONAL EQUILIBRIUM AS WELL."

WHEN CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT MADE THAT SPEECH, THE SOVIET UNION WAS ONLY BEGINNING TO DEPLOY THE SS-20, AND NATO OF COURSE HAD NO PERSHING II OR GROUND LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES. IF THE INF TREATY IS FULLY IMPLEMENTED WE WILL RETURN TO THAT SAME ZERO/ZERO SITUATION IN TERMS OF THOSE SPECIFIC SYSTEMS. HOWEVER, AS PHIL KARBER HAS POINTED OUT, WE MUST CONSIDER WHAT THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WARSAW PACT HAVE ADDED IN CONVENTIONAL AND BATTLEFIELD NUCLEAR POWER IN CENTRAL EUROPE DURING THE LAST TEN YEARS.

THE NET INCREASE DURING THIS PERIOD IN WARSAW PACT CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN THE CENTRAL REGION EXCEEDS THE TOTAL INVENTORY OF SUCH SYSTEMS IN THE FIVE-AND-A-THIRD DIVISIONS IN SEVENTH U.S. ARMY TODAY. OVERALL, THE WARSAW PACT/NATO CONVENTIONAL FIREPOWER ADVANTAGE HAS GROWN FROM 1.8-TO-1 TEN YEARS AGO TO 2.2-TO-1 TODAY, AN INCREASE OF ALMOST 25 PERCENT. OF COURSE ALL OF US REALIZE, AS SENATOR LEVIN HAS RECENTLY REMINDED US, THAT WE CAN'T COUNT BEANS ALONE, BUT CERTAINLY THIS IS A VERY IMPORTANT INDICATOR OF OVERALL POWER.

VIEWED FROM THIS PERSPECTIVE, THE INF TREATY MUST BE REGARDED NOT AS AN ENDING, BUT AS A BEGINNING. DETERRING WAR AND PRESERVING FREEDOM IS NOT LIKE BUILDING A DAM. IT IS NOT SOMETHING THAT STAYS PUT ONCE YOU DO IT. WHAT THEN ARE THE CONSEQUENCES FOR UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 06 MUNICH 00543

GENEVA FOR NST/ACDA, USVIENNA FOR MBFR, VIENNA FOR CSCE/PAA

E.O. 12356: N/A

SUBJECT: SENATOR NUNN'S WEHRKUNDE REMARKS

NATO OF THE INF TREATY?

I AM REMINDED OF THE STORY OF THE MAN WHO HELD A SMALL BIRD BEHIND HIS BACK WITH HIS FINGERS GRIPPED TIGHTLY AROUND THE BIRD'S NECK. AS THE MAN PREPARED TO SQUEEZE THE LIFE OUT OF THE BIRD, HE TURNED TO A YOUNG BOY AND ASKED, "SON, TELL ME, IS THE BIRD ALIVE OR IS IT DEAD?" THE YOUNG MAN, DISPLAYING WISDOM BEYOND HIS YEARS, REPLIED, "SIR, IT'S IN YOUR HANDS."

WHETHER HISTORY JUDGES THE INF TREATY TO HAVE MADE A POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE WILL DEPEND ULTIMATELY ON WHICH ROAD THE ALLIANCE CHOOSES TO TRAVEL AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE. ONE NATO ROAD LEADS BACKWARDS DOWN A SLIPPERY SLOPE TO EUROPEAN DENUCLEARIZATION, AMERICAN DISENGAGEMENT, AND SOVIET DOMINATION. THE OTHER NATO ROAD, HOWEVER,

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LEADS FORWARD THE SOLID GROUND OF SOLIDARITY,
STABILITY, AND SECURITY. TO PARAPHRASE THE YOUNG LAD,
THE CHOICE IS OURS, IT'S IN OUR HANDS.

THERE ARE SEVERAL WARNING SIGNALS ON THE ROAD THAT I
CALL THE "SLIPPERY SLOPE ROAD."

THE FIRST WARNING SIGNAL THAT WE SHOULD ALL BE AWARE
OF IS A GROWING NUCLEAR ALLERGY IN THE WEST. THE
REJECTION BY MANY OF OUR CITIZENS OF THE BASIC
PRINCIPLE OF NUCLEAR DETERRENCE IS THE PRODUCT NOT
ONLY OF NATO'S FAILURE TO EDUCATE OUR PUBLICS
CONCERNING THE REALITY OF THE ALLIANCE'S DECLARED
STRATEGY BUT ALSO OF CONSIDERABLE RECKLESS RHETORIC AS
TO THE ALLEGED IMMORALITY OF THIS DOCTRINE -- AND I
WOULD SAY THAT THIS TALK HAS COME FROM THE RIGHT AS
WELL AS THE LEFT.

HERE IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, THERE IS OF COURSE A
VERY SPECIAL SENSITIVITY TO THE NATURE OF THE NUCLEAR
WEAPONS WHICH WILL REMAIN AFTER INF IS FULLY
IMPLEMENTED. AND I UNDERSTAND THAT VERY WELL. AS ONE
WHO HAS LONG QUESTIONED THE PRACTICALITY OF MANY OF
OUR SHORT-RANGE NUCLEAR SYSTEMS, I UNDERSTAND THE
SALIENCE OF THIS ISSUE HERE IN WEST GERMANY.

I BELIEVE THAT THE MODERNIZATION OF OUR REMAINING
BATTLEFIELD AND THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES IS AN ABSOLUTE
NECESSITY. I WANT TO MAKE THAT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR.
HOWEVER, WE MUST RESIST THE TEMPTATION TO USE THE INF
TREATY AS THE PRETEXT FOR REVIVING PROPOSALS FOR
NUCLEAR SYSTEMS WHICH COULD NOT PASS MUSTER BEFORE.
AS WE CONDUCT OUR NEEDED MODERNIZATION IN THESE
FORCES, WE MUST NOT GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT A NUCLEAR
"FIX" IS THE ANSWER TO ALL OF NATO'S DETERRENT WOES.
LET ME EMPHASIZE THIS POINT - OUR GOAL IS TO RAISE THE
NUCLEAR THRESHOLD IN EUROPE, NOT TO LOWER IT. OUR
GOAL IS TO MAKE ANY WAY IN EUROPE LESS LIKELY.

THE SECOND WARNING SIGN ON "SLIPPERY SLOPE ROAD":
CHANGED PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD THE UNITED STATES AND
THE SOVIET UNION. THE POLLS PORTRAY A GROWING
SKEPTICISM IN EUROPE OF THE CREDIBILITY OF THE U.S.
NUCLEAR GUARANTEE TO NATO, WE ALL KNOW THAT ALSO.

WHEN THE UNITED STATES PUTS NUCLEAR WEAPONS INTO
EUROPE -- AS SECRETARY CARLUCCI HAS SAID, MANY
EUROPEANS FEAR THAT OUR INTENTION IS TO CONFINED A
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GENEVA FOR NST/ACDA, USVIENNA FOR MBFR, VIENNA FOR CSCE/PAA

E.O. 12356: N/A

SUBJECT: SENATOR NUNN'S WEHRKUNDE REMARKS

NUCLEAR WAR TO EUROPEAN SOIL AND THEREBY INCREASE THE
LIKELIHOOD THAT OUR CENTRAL STRATEGIC FORCES WILL
NEVER BE EMPLOYED. WHEN THE UNITED STATES TAKES
NUCLEAR WEAPONS OUT OF EUROPE, MANY EUROPEANS FEAR
THAT OUR INTENTION IS TO AVOID A U.S. NUCLEAR RESPONSE
TO SOVIET AGGRESSION AND THEREBY DECREASE THE
LIKELIHOOD THAT OUR CENTRAL STRATEGIC FORCES WOULD
EVER BE EMPLOYED. SOME PUNDITS HAVE SUGGESTED THAT
WHETHER WE ARE PUTTING OUR NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN OR
TAKING OUR NUCLEAR WEAPONS OUT, EUROPEAN MINISTRIES
WOULD SAVE A LOT OF MONEY BY SIMPLY INSTALLING A TAPE
RECORDING THAT SAYS: "THE AMERICANS ARE DECOUPLING!"

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OVER THE YEARS, EUROPEAN APPREHENSION OVER AMERICAN NUCLEAR INTENTIONS HAS PROVIDED A GROWTH INDUSTRY FOR EUROPEAN PSYCHIATRISTS. BUT FOR EVERY PSYCHIATRIST EMPLOYED IN EUROPE, THERE IS ANOTHER HARD AT WORK IN AMERICA ANALYZING OUR APPREHENSION OVER WHETHER OUR ALLIES ARE COMMITTED TO THE CONVENTIONAL COMPONENT OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE. OCCASIONALLY, BOTH GROUPS OF PSYCHIATRISTS ARE DEALING WITH THE SAME PROBLEM, SUCH AS THE STATE OF SHOCK MANY OF US WERE IN AFTER THE REYKJAVIK SUMMIT.

WHILE CONCEDED THAT REYKJAVIK JUSTIFIED AT LEAST A FEW SESSIONS ON THE PSYCHIATRIST'S COUCH, I WOULD COUNSEL OUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS THAT THEY SHOULD TRY TO BE A BIT MORE REASSURED AND RELAXED ABOUT U.S. WILLINGNESS TO SHOULDER NUCLEAR RESPONSIBILITIES. TO THOSE WHO REMAIN SKEPTICAL, I WOULD POINT TO ARTICLE XI OF THE INF TREATY, WHICH PROVIDES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A U.S. INSPECTION CAMP RIGHT OUTSIDE THE GATE OF VOTKINSK MOBILE MISSILE FINAL ASSEMBLY FACILITY RIGHT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE POINT OF THIS INSPECTION, I WOULD REMIND MY EUROPEAN FRIENDS, IS TO ENSURE THAT ANY MISSILES COMING OUT OF THAT GATE ARE NOT SS-20S CAPABLE OF HITTING PARIS, BONN OR LONDON, BUT RATHER 22-25S CAPABLE OF HITTING NEW YORK OR WASHINGTON OR ATLANTA.

MY POINT IS THIS: THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE. AS PRESIDENT REAGAN SAID IN 1984, "EUROPE'S SHORES ARE OUR SHORES; EUROPE'S BORDERS ARE OUR BORDERS." IN THE ERA OF GORBACHEV, NATO CANNOT AFFORD PUBLIC CONFUSION AND MISTRUST OVER THIS FUNDAMENTAL PREMISE. IT'S NOT ENOUGH FOR NATO TO BE SURE OF OUR POLICIES AND OUR GOALS. WE MUST BE SURE OF OURSELVES.

THE THIRD WARNING ON "SLIPPERY SLOPE ROAD" RELATES TO U.S. AND EUROPEAN FISCAL AND BUDGET REALITIES. CURRENT ECONOMIC TRENDS, INCLUDING THE CHRONIC U.S. BUDGET DEFICIT, INDICATE THAT NATO WILL MOST LIKELY HAVE TO IMPROVE ITS DEFENSE CAPABILITIES WITHOUT SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASING THE AMOUNT OF MONEY AVAILABLE FOR THIS PURPOSE. IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE, OF COURSE, THAT MISPLACED EUPHORIA IN THE WAKE OF INF COULD ERODE FURTHER PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR ESSENTIAL FORCE IMPROVEMENTS IN EUROPE.

IF THE U.S. CONGRESS PERCEIVES THAT THE ALLIES ARE GOING BACKWARD RATHER THAN FORWARD IN CORRECTING GLARING CONVENTIONAL DEFICIENCIES (WHAT I HAVE OFTEN TERMED "AUTOMATIC ESCALATORS"), THEN THE DEBATE OVER U.S. TROOP LEVELS IN EUROPE WILL INEVITABLY BE REVIVED. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE FUTURE OF THIS UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 06 MUNICH 00543

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E.O. 12356: N/A

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ISSUE DEPENDS ON THE PERCEPTION THAT WE ARE ALL EQUALLY COMMITTED TO A CREDIBLE CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE IN ACCORDANCE WITH NATO'S OWN FLEXIBLE RESPONSE STRATEGY. THAT WAS THE MEASURING STICK WHEN I INTRODUCED WHAT IN EUROPE IS KNOWN AS THE "BAD NUNN AMENDMENT" IN 1984, AND THAT REMAINS THE MEASURING STICK TODAY.

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SO THERE CAN BE MORE THAN ONE KIND OF SLIPPERY SLOPE. THERE IS A SLIPPERY SLOPE THAT LEADS TO DENUCLEARIZATION. THERE IS ANOTHER SLIPPERY SLOPE THAT LEADS TO A DISILLUSIONED AMERICA BECAUSE OF THE ABSENCE OF LONG-OVERDUE IMPROVEMENTS IN NATO'S CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE CAPABILITIES. THE CHALLENGE FOR ALL OF US IS TO AVOID BOTH OF THESE SLIPPERY SLOPES AND SEEK HIGHER AND FIRMER GROUND.

THE FOURTH WARNING SIGN ON "SLIPPERY SLOPE ROAD" RELATES TO NATO'S RELUCTANCE TO THINK BOLDLY IN THE AREA OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL. THERE ARE SOME RECENT INDICATIONS THAT VARIOUS ALLIED POSITIONS ON THE NEW CONVENTIONAL STABILITY TALKS HAVE BEGUN TO CONVERGE. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN, HOWEVER, WHETHER THE ALLIANCE IS CAPABLE OF UNITING BEHIND A BOLD AND INNOVATIVE PROPOSAL.

THE FIFTH WARNING SIGN (IS) A CONTINUED FAILURE OF POLITICAL WILL IN GETTING THE MOST OUT OF OUR COLLECTIVE RESOURCES. ALL OF YOU HAVE HEARD THIS OVER AND OVER AGAIN. I WON'T GO INTO DETAIL TODAY, BUT THAT IN NO WAY DIMINISHES THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS ISSUE. THIS PROBLEM HAS BEEN COMPOUNDED BY OUR INABILITY TO TRANSLATE INNOVATIVE TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANTAGES TO THE CONVENTIONAL BATTLEFIELD. AS ONE CYNIC OBSERVED, IF WE CAN CONFINE THE BATTLEFIELD IN THE NEXT WAR TO THE LABORATORIES, WE ARE BOUND TO WIN.

WE ARE PERHAPS FORTUNATE THAT ALL OF THESE WARNING SIGNS ARE SO CLEAR TO US TODAY. IF WE VIEW THESE WARNINGS AS TRENDS THAT NEED TO BE REVERSED RATHER THAN MILESTONES ON A ONE-WAY ROAD TO OUR ULTIMATE DEMISE, NATO CAN PERSEVERE.

I BELIEVE THAT THE ROADMAP TO FIRM, LEVEL GROUND REQUIRES A "THREE TRACK" APPROACH:

- (1) REVOLUTIONARY CONVENTIONAL FORCE IMPROVEMENTS;
- (2) BOLD AND INNOVATIVE CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS;
- (3) VIGOROUS PUBLIC EDUCATION, INCLUDING CLEAR EXPLANATIONS OF OUR MILITARY NEEDS AND OUR ARMS CONTROL RATIONALE.

TRACK ONE -- IMPROVEMENTS IN CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE CAPABILITIES: WE MUST ELIMINATE THE AUTOMATIC ESCALATORS -- THAT IS, THE CRITICAL DEFICIENCIES IN NATO'S CONVENTIONAL WARFIGHTING POSTURE WHICH COULD FORCE AN EARLY USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. OF COURSE THE SUSTAINABILITY OF AMMUNITION IS ONE OF THOSE: IF WE DON'T HAVE ENOUGH AMMUNITION SUPPLIES IN EUROPE TO LAST UNTIL THE AMERICAN FORCES, FOR WHICH WE SPEND HUGE AMOUNTS OF MONEY EACH YEAR, CAN ARRIVE ON THE SCENE AND BE PUT IN PLACE, THEN OF COURSE AMERICA IS WASTING ENORMOUS RESOURCES EACH YEAR, AND WE MIGHT AS WELL SAVE OUR MONEY. SO THAT IS A VERY IMPORTANT UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 06 MUNICH 00543

GENEVA FOR NST/ACDA, USVIENNA FOR MBFR, VIENNA FOR CSCE/PAA

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SUBJECT: SENATOR NUNN'S WEHRKUNDE REMARKS
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AND OF COURSE SHELTER FOR OUR AIRCRAFT IS ANOTHER IMPORTANT POINT, SHELTER AND MINIMUM ESSENTIAL FACILITIES. SECOND, WE MUST CONTINUE TO PURSUE THE BALANCED TECHNOLOGY INITIATIVE, WHICH SEEKS WAYS TO EXPLOIT THE WEST'S ADVANTAGE IN TECHNOLOGY TO RENDER SOVIET TANK ARMIES OBSOLETE. AND I'M CONVINCED OVER A PERIOD OF TIME WITH A DEDICATED EFFORT THAT CAN BE DONE.

THIRD, WE MUST EXPAND EXISTING PROGRAMS OF COOPERATIVE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT. THESE PROGRAMS, TOGETHER WITH SIDE-BY-SIDE TESTING OF U.S. AND ALLIED WEAPON SYSTEMS, CAN BE A TURNING POINT IN REVERSING THE TREND TOWARD STRUCTURAL DISARMAMENT AND IN REDRESSING THE CONVENTIONL IMBALANCE.

AMBASSADOR DAVE ABSHIRE HAS A RECENT SWING AROUND EUROPE AND TALKED ABOUT A NUMBER OF ITEMS THAT CAN BE PURSUED WITHOUT SPENDING A HUGE AMOUNT OF ADDITIONAL RESOURCES. PHIL KARBER HAS RECENTLY SAID THAT NATO'S CHALLENGE IS TO "THINK SMARTER, NOT RICHER," AND I AGREE WITH THAT.

THE SECOND TRACK (IS) BOLD AND INNOVATIVE CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS. I BELIEVE THE GOAL OF A STABLE, NON-THREATENING CONVENTIONAL BALANCE WOULD BE PROMOTED BY THE NEGOTIATED WITHDRAWAL OF ABOUT ONE-HALF OF U.S. AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES IN THE NATO GUIDELINES AREAS OR BY REDUCTIONS BY BOTH NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT TO COMMON CEILINGS. UNDER EITHER APPROACH, AND WE'VE GOT TO STUDY WHAT APPROACH MAKES THE MOST SENSE HERE, WE SHOULD BE GUIDED BY THE FOLLOWING OBJECTIVES:

- WITHDRAWAL AS COMPLETE COMBAT UNITS, INCLUDING THE APPROPRIATE SLICE OF HELICOPTER AVIATION ASSETS;
- WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES TO BEYOND THE "ATLANTIC TO THE URALS" REGION;
- WITHDRAWAL OF EQUIPMENT TO DISTANCES THAT WOULD EQUALIZE REINFORCEMENT TIMES; AND
- ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTRUSIVE VERIFICATION REGIME TO INSURE THAT THOSE WITHDRAWN UNITS REMAIN WITHDRAWN, AND TO PROVIDE EARLY WARNING OF SOVIET MOBILIZATION OF ITS GROUND FORCES.

OF COURSE, ANOTHER ELEMENT BEYOND THE STRUCTURAL DISARMAMENT WHICH IS A KEY CHALLENGE RELATES TO WHAT I HAVE CALLED AND OTHER HAVE CALLED "OPERATIONAL STEPS." THESE STEPS SHOULD, IN MY OPINION, BE COMPLEMENTED BY FAR-REACHING CONFIDENCE AND SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES (CSBMS) TO INSURE AND INCREASE THE TRANSPARENCY OF THE WARSAW PACT'S MILITARY POSTURE, INCREASE THE AMOUNT OF WARNING AVAILABLE TO NATO PRIOR TO A SOVIET ATTACK, AND REDUCE THE POSSIBILITY OF AN INADVERTENT WAR SHOULD BOTH SIDES DECIDE TO MOBILIZE IN A CRISIS. NATO'S OBJECTIVE IN THE SO-CALLED CDE II NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE TO BUY TIME FOR ALLIED LEADERS TO DECIDE TO REACT AND TO ACCOMPLISH THAT REACTION.

A WORD OF CAUTION IS IN ORDER: CONFIDENCE AND SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES ARE NOT A PANACEA. UNLESS COUPLED WITH MEASURE TO SHORTEN NATO'S REACTION TO UNCLAS SECTION 06 OF 06 MUNICH 00543

GENEVA FOR NST/ACDA, USVIENNA FOR MBFR, VIENNA FOR CSCE/PAA

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WARNING TIME, ITS MOBILIZATION TIME, AND ITS REINFORCEMENT TIME, IMPROVED WARNING TIME IS OF MARGINAL VALUE. IN OTHER WORDS, IF YOU DON'T KNOW WHAT TO DO WITH IT ONCE YOU GET IT, IT DOESN'T DO MUCH GOOD.

THE WELL-ESTABLISHED RULE THAT THE DEFENSE SHOULD PREVAIL EVEN IF THE ATTACK-TO-DEFENSE RATIO IS ABOUT 3:1 ONLY WORKS IF THE DEFENDING SIDE DETECTS THE ATTACKER'S PREPARATIONS, MAKES THE CORRECT DECISIONS, GETS ITS UNITS TO THEIR CORRECT WARTIME LOCATIONS AND DIGS IN.

IF THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED UNDER THE TERMS OF THE INF TREATY TO ALLOW AMERICANS AT VOTKINSK AND TO OPEN ITS SS-25 GARAGES TO OVERHEAD U.S. RECONNAISSANCE SIX TIMES A YEAR, THEN WE SHOULD NOT SHIRK FROM PROPOSING INNOVATIVE SCHEMES FOR ON-SITE ACCESS TO MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT NODES IN THE WARSAW PACT'S MOBILIZATION INFRASTRUCTURE. I SUGGEST THESE INCLUDE AIRFIELDS, RAILROAD YARDS OR EVEN HEADQUARTERS.

THE OBJECTIVE OF EFFORTS BOTH ON THE ARMS CONTROL TRACK AND THE FORCE IMPROVEMENT TRACK OUGHT TO BE A STABLE, NON-THREATENING BALANCE OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE.

SO, IN SUMMARY, FORCE IMPROVEMENTS, CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL, AND PUBLIC EDUCATION MUST EACH BE ON THE AGENDA FOR THE FORTHCOMING NATO SUMMIT. THE NATO SUMMIT SHOULD BE THE OCCASION FOR A SOLEMN REAFFIRMATION OF THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO THE ALLIANCE IN BOTH ITS NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL COMPONENTS. IT SHOULD ALSO BE THE OCCASION FOR A SOLEMN REAFFIRMATION ON THE PART OF OUR ALLIES TO TAKE CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE SERIOUSLY AND TO SHARE EQUITABLY THE BURDEN OF COLLECTIVE DEFENSES.

IN ADDITION, THE HEADS OF STATE SHOULD CONSIDER HOW THE FREE WORLD'S ECONOMIC POWER AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROWESS, INCLUDING THAT OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES IN THE PACIFIC, CAN BEST COMPLEMENT AND STRENGTHEN NATO'S MILITARY STRATEGY IN ENSURING ALLIED SECURITY IN THE DECADES AHEAD.

THE ALLIANCE HAS KEPT THE PEACE FOR FORTY YEARS BECAUSE WE HAVE HAD LEADERS OF VISION. THE ALLIED HEADS OF STATE WHO WILL GATHER AT THE SUMMIT THIS SPRING WILL BE JUDGED AGAINST THIS VERY HIGH HISTORICAL STANDARD. WHILE OUR VALUES AND OUR GOALS ARE CONSTANT, OUR CHALLENGES ARE NEW AND WE MUST THINK ANEW. THE FUTURE OF NATO IS IN OUR HANDS. (END TEXT.) FISCHER

END OF MESSAGE

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